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CARDINAL TENETS OF THE PEOPLES PARTY.

- Creation and Maintenance of an Honest Measure of Values.
- Free Coinage of Gold and Silver.
- Government Ownership and Operation of Railroad, Telegraph and Telephone Lines.
- Opposition to Trusts.
- Opposition to Alien Ownership of Land and Court-made Law.
- Recognition of the Right of the People to Rule, i. e., The Initiative and Referendum.

NOTES OF THE WEEK.

CHAFING under the adverse criticism of Congress as to his unseemly delay in formulating a Cuban policy and warned by Congressional mutterings of displeasure and gathering impatience that further delay would not be brooked the President sent

his oft delayed and much heralded Cuban message to Congress on Monday last. A more disappointing document has seldom emanated from the Executive Mansion. It was received by Congress without acclaim, indeed with much indication of general disgust. Scarce a note of applause, not a thrill of enthusiasm did the reading of the message occasion in either Senate or House. By the packed galleries and the members on the floors the message was received with significant silence. No applause punctuated the reading of the message, no outbreak of enthusiasm marked its conclusion, though it was listened to by a crowd that had gone to the Capitol in quite the humor to enthuse. A few perfunctory hand clappings on the Republican side of the House alone showed approval of the contents of the message, or rather a readiness of some members to approve the course of the President, however contrary to their individual judgment such course may be, a few marks of approval that were quite overshadowed by the chagrin and disappointment depicted upon many faces.

THE President had been looked to with hope to suggest some plan of decision for dealing with the Cuban question and establishing a free and independent Cuba. Indeed, the hope, if not belief, was harbored that the President had already and upon his own initiative inaugurated a plan to effect a severing of the Spanish ties of sovereignty over Cuba and that he had pressed such plan upon the Spanish Government as the only effective means of establishing peace in Cuba and so maintaining peace with the United States. In fact, it was quite generally assumed that it was insistence upon the part of the United States that Spain should surrender her sovereignty over Cuba and a refusal of Spain to accede to such demand that had led to a practical breaking off of diplomatic relations.

So when the President's message was sent to Congress and it was made apparent that no such thing had ever been demanded of Spain, that the President had not even formulated let alone presented to Spain as an ultimatum any demand for the severing of Spanish sovereignty over Cuba, but that the utmost that Mr. McKinley had asked was an armistice which Spain, under pressure of the powers, has granted, the disappointment was great, for we were made uncomfortably aware of the fact that the steps towards the emancipation of Cuba from Spanish rule, which it was supposed had been taken, had, as a matter of fact, not been taken at all. And when on top of this unpleasant disclosure of the message it was found that the President announced his recommendations as to a future policy with unsolvable indefiniteness, when it was found that the only note of decision in his message was that the war in Cuba must stop, but that he gave no expression in favor of a free Cuba, no assurance that it was not his wish to put a stop to the war by crushing the Cubans instead of expelling the Spaniards, by establishing autonomy under Spanish sovereignty rather than a Cuban Republic, the disappointment, not to say disgust of Congress became great and manifest.

IN THE message sent to Congress last Monday, President McKinley proposed two courses. One was for Congress to put the authority and power in his hands to bring the war in Cuba to a close and establish peace in such manner as seemed wise to him. And what manner of procedure would be in his mind wise he vouchsafed no indication, indeed there is no certainty that he has yet decided in his own mind what course of procedure would be best. In short, unwilling to announce his Cuban policy and plan for the settlement of the trouble because of a fear that such plan would not meet the approval of the American people, or unable to announce a policy because he had adopted no policy and was all indecision, Mr. McKinley asked Congress to trust all to him, to trust him who dared not trust Congress or him who had no mind of his own.

The other course that the President proposed was to leave all to Congress, to cease as the chosen leader of our people all effort to direct the policy of the country, and in place of directing wait for Congress to direct him. In short, fretting at the criticism of his leadership or want of leadership, he offered to abdicate to Congress, and Congress took him at his word. So the President halting, Congress goes on. The President hesitating to direct, to lead, Congress leads, commands the President to follow. To give the President untrammeled power to settle the Cuban quarrel when he would not or could not tell the way in which he would proceed to settle it, Congress was in no mind. The President's request of Congress that he be given authority to use the military and naval forces in whatever way he might see fit to use them to stop the war, use the forces of the United States to make war on Spain or make war on the Cubans as he saw fit, was not acceded to. Instead of giving him unlimited power Congress directly commands him.

WHETHER it be that the President is unfitted to lead the American people at this critical time because of his indecision and want of a determinate policy, or unfitted because his plans for the settlement of the question do not harmonize with the purposes and resolves of the American people is perhaps of little practical importance, for in either case he is equally unfitted. But it is of interest to see what indications there are, if any, that the President is unfitted to lead in the Cuban settlement because of lack of determination and what indications there are of unfitness resulting from an attachment to a plan that would in no way meet the approval of the American people, namely, a plan to use the United States forces to crush the Cubans and establish an autonomous government under the sovereignty of Spain.

By some apologists for the President it is asserted that he does not suggest the establishment of peace on any other basis than that of a free Cuba, and that his message gives no warrant for any uncertainty as to the manner and direction in which he would use the forces of the United States to put a stop to the war if given unlimited power. That direction, it is asserted, is the expulsion of the Spaniards from Cuba so as to make the ground for the building up of a free Cuba. And as proof that the President had in mind only the establishment of a free Cuba when he penned his message and asked for authority to use the forces of the United States to put an end to the war and establish a stable government, his reference to a stable government "capable of . . . observing its international obligations," is pointed to as conclusive, for it is said that reference to a stable government in Cuba capable of observing its international obligations predicates the existence of a free Cuba, inasmuch as only a sovereign state can have international obligations, and that an autonomous Cuba, recognizing a Spanish sovereignty, would not have any international obligations. But this is drawing a nice distinction and giving a greater importance to a few words than was ever, in any likelihood, attached to them by their author.

BUT while we have this flimsy defense made of the President as a friend of free Cuba there is, on the other hand, very direct evidence that it was his wish, his plan to establish an autonomous government in Cuba recognizing Spanish sovereignty. The want of definiteness in his message to Congress, and on the point of using the forces of the United States to put an end to the war and secure the establishment of a stable government without any reference as to what kind of stable government he meant to establish, republican or monarchical, Cuban or Spanish, was not at all relished by Congress. The result was the introduction of numerous resolutions that in addition to meeting the President's demands affirmed that it would be the purpose of the United States to secure the establishment of a republican form of government and the recognition of free Cuba.

One of these resolutions, framed by a member of the House Committee on Foreign Relations, Mr. Smith, of Michigan, and a resolution made the basis for the action taken by the House, was to the effect (1) that the United States should at once intervene to establish peace in Cuba; (2) "that upon the restoration of peace and good order the people of Cuba be permitted to establish their own government independent in character and republican in form," and (3) that the President be authorized to use the forces of the United States to accomplish such ends.

Upon information that Mr. Smith had prepared this generally acceptable resolution the President sent for him, asked him to delay the presentation, to strike out of the first section of the resolution the words "at once" making it mandatory for the President to act at once and further objected to the second section pledging the United States to give the Cubans free hand in the making of their own government and promising that the forces of the United States will not be used to drive them to accept autonomy and a continuance of Spanish rule. And on what ground could the President object to this second section if it was not because he hoped to establish peace on a basis of autonomy? Obviously none, and so a worker for Spanish sovereignty and not for free Cuba must the President be considered.

The objections of the President to the Smith resolutions "are," so writes the Washington correspondent who chronicles them, "in consonance with the view that the President hopes to postpone action for a long time, and that in the end the Cubans are to be given a government as liberal as Canada." In brief the purpose of the President, only too obvious, was to secure peace in Cuba by forcing the insurgents to accept autonomy, submit to a continuance of the Spanish yoke and permanence of Spanish sovereignty.

FROM this humiliation of lending our military and naval forces to make possible the reconquest of Cuba by Spain, lending our forces to the upholding of Spanish sovereignty and the continued enthrallment of the Cubans to their Spanish oppressors, in lesser degree and with lesser severity than in the past it is true but none the less their enthrallment, the good sense and patriotism of Congress have saved us. But when we have come thus near, or as near as our President could bring us to lending our power to crush down rebellion against oppression and injustice and drive back into subjection a people fighting for liberty and independence, let us not wonder that some representatives of Cuba in the United States, failing to recognize the deep rooted sense of justice, regard for liberty and sympathy for those struggling for independence to which the American Congress has responded and so saved us from the humiliation of aiding to hold down the oppressed, that compliance with the demands of the President would doubtless have brought to us, and fearing that a great nation should do the will of a President who would direct its great power to oppress a small people struggling for liberty and independence should, in despair, declare that the Cubans in arms against Spain would turn their arms against troops of the United

States sent to intervene in Cuba unless such intervention was preceded by a recognition of the independence of Cuba. If we should intervene in Cuba to aid Spain in establishing autonomy we would be the enemies not the friends of the Cubans and why should they not oppose? Let us give thanks that Congress has overridden the President and that we intervene in Cuba as the friends of the oppressed and downtrodden and not as allies of the oppressors, as friends of Cuba not allies of Spain.

BUT though President McKinley has shown himself disposed to use the forces of the United States to re-establish Spanish rule, under an autonomous regime in Cuba, and so shown himself to be unfitted to direct intervention in Cuba with a view to ending that rule, this is not all that goes to show his unfitness and that influences Congress to take the direction of our Cuban policy out of the hands of the President. The truth is that Mr. McKinley has shown no fixed purpose, no steadfastness in plan. Where he has had a positive policy it has been bad, but for the most part he has had none good or bad, vacillating and changing as he has from day to day, almost from hour to hour.

His want of policy, his indecision, his aversion to taking up an unmistakable position is all quite apparent in his latest message. In this message he is definite, as we have said, only on one point, namely, that the war in Cuba must stop. When or how he does not tell. All this he asked to have left to his indecision. He asked for authority to use the military and naval forces of the United States to put an end to the war. But as to when and against whom he had nothing to say. Thus could Senator Thurston, of Nebraska, truly say of the message : "I do not understand that the President has any policy. Certainly it is not outlined in his message." And so also could Senator Mason, of Illinois, remark, "The message is weak and wabbling." Both of these Senators are Republicans, and their criticism of the message was such. Lack of policy in general as well as wrong policy when he had one, doubtless had influence in causing Congress to disregard the policy or non-policy of the President and act in great part on its own initiative, take the direction of the Cuban question and lead where the President should.

FOR some time the great aim of the President was to get Spain to agree to an armistice, or rather suspension of hostilities in Cuba. Although from such suspension of hostilities Spain would have been the great gainer she refused absolutely to decree any suspension of hostilities upon the request of the United States. But with matters thus deadlocked the great powers of Europe took a hand. The diplomatic representatives of Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Austria-Hungary and Russia in Madrid, and acting under instructions, jointly asked Spain to decree a suspension of hostilities in Cuba. The Pope lent his influence to this request and Spain complied with the same request made through these friendly channels that she refused when coming from the somewhat inimical source of the United States.

This decree has already been published in Cuba by General Blanco. Of course it can have no effect unless the Cubans agree to it, for if the Cubans will not cease fighting the Spaniards cannot. Spain now practically says to the Cubans : We will gladly suspend hostilities during the rainy season, or say until October 1st, if you will agree to put aside your arms during the same period. Now Spain would, no doubt, gladly agree to suspend hostilities during this season for it is a period in which the Spanish troops cannot carry on offensive operations anyhow. The suspension of hostilities would, of course, secure to the Spanish troops immu-

nity from attack by the rebels who operate even during the rainy season, and who would, of course, be shut off from such attacks from which in the past they have profited greatly. Therefore suspension of hostilities would save the Spanish from the losses of harassing assaults while it would cut off from the Cubans the gains of assaults, gains much greater than the losses sustained in making such assaults, for the rainy season, isolating the Spaniards, the Cubans are enabled to direct their offensive operations on weak spots and with effect.

Therefore, suspension of hostilities during the rainy season is much to be desired by the Spaniards, but not by the Cubans unless there is something to come after. But the greatest benefit the Spaniards would reap from suspension of hostilities during the rainy season is that they could then draw their troops away from the disease breeding trochas and most unhealthy of the military posts. In this way a great part of the usual depletion of the Spanish ranks by fevers would no doubt be prevented. And such fevers are the effective allies of the Cubans ; allies that it is to the interest of the Cubans to make the Spanish face.

So the Cubans have good reason not to agree to a rainy season armistice, the Spanish very good reason to wish it. And so such armistice cannot be agreed upon, for it would be of unequal advantage, unless Spain agrees, as a prerequisite to the signing of such armistice, to surrender her sovereignty over Cuba. Let Spain agree to evacuate Cuba and to an armistice the Cubans will agree. Until Spain is prepared to agree to this it is profitless to speak of an armistice, for until she does agree it would be profitless and therefore unwise for the Cubans to agree to an armistice.

IT is hinted that the great powers of Europe to whom Spain yielded when she issued her decree for the suspension of hostilities, will bring pressure upon the Cubans to agree to such suspension and also make it known to the United States that she will incur their grave displeasure if she does not give heed to their representations as to their views of what would be a proper course for America to pursue and regard their efforts to establish peace in Cuba. And if those efforts are made on a basis of maintaining the Spanish sovereignty we cannot regard them, we must ignore them, and if those efforts to maintain Spain's sovereignty over Cuba and Puerto Rico go beyond the realms of diplomacy into the realms of force, we cannot do otherwise than regard such powers as interlopers and resist their forceful aggressions.

In the words of Thomas Jefferson, we should promptly inform the powers of Europe that "Our first maxim should be [is] never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe ; our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with Cis-Atlantic affairs." This doctrine, we should inform the powers, it is our purpose to keep and our further purpose is to see that others observe it. And with broils growing out of the struggle for Cuban independence no European nation other than the parent state, Spain, has anything to do. The trade interests of most of them with the island are small, were smaller in the aggregate before 1895 than the trade of the United States with Cuba before the breaking out of the war, and their losses on the score of trade are small as compared with the losses of the United States.

The people of one of the powers, namely, France have a very material interest in Cuban bonds, but this gives to France no earthly warrant for intermeddling in Cuba, for when Frenchmen put their capital in such bonds they accepted the risks of such investment, when they sent their money out of France for investment in Spanish-Cuban bonds they exchanged the protection of France for the protection of Spain, they incurred greater risks but they voluntarily accepted such risks for the sake of the higher interest and if they now lose they have no right to complain and no right to ask the French Government, whose protec-

tion they voluntarily discarded, to interfere in Cuba on their behalf.

THE reception accorded the President's message is quite significant. Of the great Republican daily papers in the East nearly all speak of the message in terms of extravagant praise, and the major part of the gold Democratic papers in the larger cities and that cater to the speculative interests also give unstinted approval to the message. We further find that the bankers and members of the speculative pools and cliques, who are absorbed in the business of filching wealth produced by their fellow-men, and who measure all acts by the effect on their pockets, approve the message with great unanimity, while the labor leaders who have been interviewed look upon the message, with almost equal unanimity, as weak and cowardly. And the opinion of the labor leaders is doubtless the opinion of the great majority of all producers of wealth.

To all appearances the latent patriotism in our people is being awakened, and the general feeling is summed up in four words : "Free Cuba or War." Thus, while the bankers approve the message of the President, the men who do the fighting do not. Thus, while the bankers and speculative cliques are for peace at any price, the men who do the fighting and do the paying when war comes, are the upholders of the national honor. The non-fighters seem to be very considerate of the lives and purses of the men ever ready to sacrifice themselves for their country. Unfortunately the beauty of this consideration is spoiled by an ulterior motive that shines through, namely, the centralizing of money in the financial centers and the placing of it at the disposal of the speculative cliques, a centralizing of money that war would probably curtail.

IN these days when nearly all the trade journals, to say nothing of the better part of the daily press, religiously paint trade conditions in the brightest hues, magnify the bright shadows and hide away the dark, one is almost inclined to doubt the evidence of one's ears. Judged by what we see in print, manufacturers are enjoying more than fair prosperity ; judged by what we hear direct from the manufacturers' mouths conditions of business are most unsatisfactory. Duly weighing and sifting what we hear and putting aside that which filters down to us through the public prints we make this statement that will seem nothing short of absurd to those who gather their information from the public prints :

In the textile trades of this city and New England business was never worse.

This is not what we hear in public, not what we read in print, for if we did there would be many shattered credits and a great increase of bankruptcies. But it is the plaint that we hear on all sides from textile manufacturers, and not from sore heads either, but McKinley Republicans who were most optimistic a year ago. Last year there was a very considerable increase in orders from certain parts of the grain growing West, and corresponding hopefulness on the part of manufacturers. But cancellations of orders are now the order of the day. Cancellations of orders were never so numerous before. What is more, it is not only cancellations of orders that has been experienced. Goods sent out of the factory and warehouse are being sent back in no small proportions and on the ground of some inferiority in fabrication or without other excuse than that there is no demand and such goods cannot be sold. And so manufacturers are in despair. Print cloths "have declined to the unheard-of and quite unprofitable price of two cents a yard, and yet this low price has quite failed to stimulate buying." This low price for cotton has also been made when the production of cotton goods was low. And what is true of cottons is true of woolens. In a word, the textile trades are quite demoralized.

So MUCH for the present. And now a word of the future. The unequalled cancellation of orders and the return of goods to producers and distributors, to manufacturer and to merchant can signify nothing else than this ; namely, that purchasers have overestimated the demand for goods, ordered more and contracted for more than they can dispose of, handle or carry, and so result cancelled orders and goods thrown back on manufacturers as not up to samples.

So there can clearly come no better times for manufacturers until there comes an increased demand for their products. And that increased demand must come up from the farmers. So we must turn to the farmers and see what chances they have for increasing their receipts for unless they increase their receipts they cannot increase their expenditures. And it takes but a glance to see that the only chance of the farmer increasing his receipts lies in rising prices for agricultural products for it is out of the question for the average farmer to materially increase his crops. If he had more capital he might introduce some economies that would enable him to till a greater acreage and by a better cultivation raise a larger crop per acre, but from chances of improving his condition on this score he is already cut off by his poverty. These chances will only open as he accumulates wealth. So we have to fall back on higher prices for agricultural products as the only way out. The chances of improvement in manufacturing lines are just as slim as the chances for rising prices for food stuffs. And those chances are very slim for next year. Elsewhere we have pointed to the disappearance of the shortage in the wheat crops of the Southern Hemisphere, a shortage of something like 80,000,000 bushels for last year. And the disappearance of this shortage is a powerful factor working to depress wheat from the high price level to which this shortage helped raise it.

BUT there is one other factor that will be almost sure to come into operation this year to depress the price of wheat. And that is a large increase in the acreage sown not only in the United States but in Europe as well. This the high price makes almost certain. The rise in the price of wheat in the fall of 1896, a rise of about 20 cents a bushel, was followed by an increase in our wheat acreage of from 34,618,646 acres in 1896, to 39,465,066 acres in 1897. And in 1897 the price of wheat was 20 cents higher than in 1896, so that there will probably be another big jump in wheat acreage this year and, climatic conditions favoring, and so far they have been very favorable, a greatly increased production of wheat the marketing of which must tend to depress prices.

Now to a certain extent it is doubtless true that an increased wheat acreage will be made at the expense of the acreage planted with other breadstuffs so that the same series of changes that will tend to depress the price of wheat will tend to raise the prices of other food products. But such products will not be forced up as much in the aggregate as wheat is down, and so the net result is almost sure to leave the farmer poorer. The Chicago speculator is selling wheat deliverable next September at 75 cents or full 30 cents below the present price, while corn and oats deliverable next September he is trading in at prices about equivalent to those now ruling. So we see the speculator's estimate of the future : Corn and oats stable, wheat way down.

And if the farmer becomes poorer there will be less demand for manufactured goods than ever, and business that is now described as never worse will be worse. The only thing that can raise prices and bring hope and prosperity is an increase in the supply of money. And unless this grows out of war and an issue of Treasury notes, a material increase in the supply of money, such as would cheapen money and lift prices, seems to be out of the question.

THERE is indeed the great increased production of gold

tending to increase the supply of money and so raise prices. The great outpourings of new gold realized and promised gives one bright ray to an otherwise dismal array of conditions that confront us and all tending to depress prices. And this one bright ray, one solid basis upon which to base a hope of rising prices, namely, a cheapening of gold resulting from an increased supply of gold bids fair to be quite offset by the prospective demand for gold by India, whose government located in London and pulsating with the pulse of Lombard street, seems set upon forcing the gold standard upon India. The idea is to make the silver rupee interchangeable with gold on a basis of one rupee for sixteen pence in gold.

The rupee, the bullion value of which is only about 9 pence, but which has been given a scarcity value by the closing of the Indian mints to free silver coinage and by precipitating upon India a money famine, is now worth a fraction less than 16 pence in gold. To give the rupee a fixed unchangeable value of 16 pence in gold two things must be done. The Indian Government must exchange gold for rupees upon demand and provide a gold reserve to give assurance of prompt exchangeability, and second, it must give rupees for gold at this rate whenever demanded. This latter part of the exchange the Indian Government already holds itself ready to do. What remains to do to establish a gold standard is to undertake to give gold for silver rupees on demand and provide a gold reserve for the fulfillment of this undertaking.

The attempt has been made to force up the value of the rupee to 16 pence and keep it there by restricting the supply of currency. But this has failed for the reason that the demand for money is constantly fluctuating and the supply cannot be made to fluctuate with it. If there was gold as well as silver in circulation in India then the silver rupee could be kept on a par with gold and without redeeming it in gold just as our silver dollar is, for then fluctuations in the demand for silver rupees would be automatically taken up by inverse changes in the use of gold. For instance if the demand for money fell off and the silver rupee tended to depreciate there would be transferred to it as the cheaper money part of the demand before falling upon gold and so the depreciation caused by a falling demand would be made good. And when the demand for money increased again the gold released from use as money would come back again into use, so the supply of money be increased with the demand and thus the relative stability of gold and silver maintained.

But when there is no gold money and this law of transfer, or equalizing of demand between gold and silver proportionately to the supply of such money metals, is of necessity inoperative, then a fixed gold value can be given to silver coin only by providing a fund for redeeming such silver in gold on demand. And the establishment of such a fund as the pre-requisite to the establishment of a gold standard in India is the problem that confronts the government. There being \$950,000,000 of silver or thereabouts in circulation in India a reserve of \$200,000,000 of gold is regarded as moderate, and if the Indian Government should come into the London market for such a sum of gold there would come a drain upon the gold reserve of the Bank of England such as would force a violent contraction by that bank in an effort to drain gold from all the world to replenish its reserve and a serious fall in prices would be experienced throughout the gold-using world. A void would be made that the outpourings of new gold would be some time in filling.

THE LETTER of Dr. Swallow accepting the nomination for Governor of Pennsylvania, offered him by a small body of very good citizens, disappoints and disheartens all those who know that the Harrisburg Ring, made up as it is of Republicans and Democrats, must be driven from power before the people can

recover their rights and be protected against the aggressions of the corporations and local rings. We had hoped, we had expected, that Dr. Swallow would make a declaration that would command the support of those who know the power and the evil purpose of the Quay oligarchy, but he has not done so, for he limits the platform to the single plank of "Honest Government," with the rallying cry "Thou shalt not steal." He does not attack the gross abuses of the transportation companies or the traffic in valuable municipal franchises. He has nothing to say of the gas lease of Philadelphia and other gross surrender of privileges by state and municipal corporations to private corporations. His platform is too narrow for the crisis the people must meet. He does not show himself a leader such as Cromwell, to whom he refers, and he cannot command the united support of the reform forces. Mr. Wanamaker and Dr. Swallow must both give way to a leader standing upon a Peoples platform, broad and aggressive, or the Quay oligarchy will elect the next Governor and United States Senator.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

IF THE present was an occasion for the making of partisan capital we might discuss the President's late Cuban message, its contradictions and weaknesses, not to say pusillanimity with rare good humor. But we cannot rejoice in partisan advantage gained at the cost of national disgrace and loss of influence, built upon action or inaction of our rulers that causes humiliation to our people and puts our country to serious disadvantage. He who would do so is beneath contempt. Party profit is no compensation for national loss. And so it is that we find it hard to discuss the President's message without a display of ill temper, for we cannot but keenly feel his mistakes as our mistakes, his faint heartedness as our own, just as we would regard his triumphs in the domain of our foreign relations as our triumphs, feel them as our triumphs just as much as if we were members of the President's party.

In questions involving our relations with foreign powers, in national disputes and quarrels no true American recognizes party lines, all stand behind the President as the chosen representative of the nation just as if all were of the same party. And so far as such questions are concerned all Americans are of one party, belong not to a Republican party or Democratic or Populist party, but to an American party, one and all. And so it is that all Americans look upon the President as their chosen leader in such affairs whether they favored or opposed his election, feel humiliated when he does not stand up to their idea of what the national interests and honor demand just as members of his own party would feel humiliated if he should make grievous blunders in the carrying out of some domestic policy to which he is pledged. As display of weakness in domestic policy is felt by partisans so is display of weakness in foreign policy keenly felt by all Americans, for in national quarrels we all are partisans of the President, wishing him well as the defender of the national honor and interests.

By this we do not mean that all good Americans must sink their ideas as to the conduct of our foreign affairs or our duty to foreign peoples, nor do we mean to infer that there is no room for difference of opinion or right to criticise the attitude of the President. What we do mean is that criticism should be made in the spirit that members of the President's own party, his own friends, his own supporters would criticise his acts, his attitude on questions of domestic policy if they deemed that his action was not in accord with sound policy as expounded by his party and so calling for adverse criticism. And such criticism is made not with any view to the making of partisan capital but with the hope

of influencing the course of the President and bringing him back to the correct path as his party critics see it. Of course such criticism may work to party advantage by setting the President straight if he has gone astray from sound policy and so give him and his party strength. But with the partisan purpose of weakening the President and his party such criticism is not made unless based on the low motive of jealousy and with the purpose of venting personal spleen and promoting the interest of some rival for the party leadership. It does not of course follow that such criticism is based on unworthy motives merely because it results in bringing forward a new party leader for if the President fail to profit by adverse but friendly criticism, and fail to lead as his party would have him lead, that party would be unworthy and faithless to itself if it did not replace him.

And as the President's own friends, members of his own party may be expected to adversely criticise his acts if they deem them to so far transgress the lines of sound policy, as they see it, as to make it unwise to ignore such transgressions, so should we all criticise the President's acts in the domain of our foreign affairs, for in questions involving the United States and any foreign power we are all partisans of the President, all his friends, all his supporters. Criticise him we must when he departs radically, whether it be from weakness or blindness, from what we regard as sound policy, but we can only adversely criticise with the regret that a partisan criticises, for all such criticism must weaken the influence of the President and his power in dealing with foreign nations, and can only be justified when his policy appears to us so radically wrong that it seems well, indeed imperative, to correct it, even at the cost of influence, even at the cost of overriding the President, and so, perhaps, reprimanding him before some foreign government, for it is better that a nation should humiliate its own chosen leader than be itself humiliated and sustain grievous injury by following such leader, such President, when it feels that its chosen leader is leading with false steps.

To a certain point it may be wise to withhold adverse criticism of the President when pursuing a foreign policy that we feel assured will result to our disadvantage as a nation, it may be wise because such criticism and perhaps overriding of the President would result in even greater disadvantage. But there may come a time when we cannot stifle criticism on this score and when we must criticise, must strive to change the policy of the President by suasion or by force brought to bear through Congress, or share with the President in the responsibility for the shortcomings and humiliation that pursuit of his false policy may bring. Such a time may come in national affairs as it may come in party affairs when it is felt wise, indeed imperative to disregard the advice of party leaders to save the party from humiliation and disaster. And when the time comes when we must disregard the advice of our chosen leader to save our country from humiliation and disaster that advice it is our duty to disregard, it is then our duty to criticise adversely and override the wishes of our President even to the point of humiliating him before the world, great as the cost may be. It is our duty, for when the President pursues a bungling course that must lead to humiliation it is better, far better to humiliate the President by taking the direction of affairs out of his hands than to permit him to continue on such a course.

And this time has come with regard to President McKinley and his Cuban policy. The policy he has pursued is one of faint-heartedness and indecision that has given Spain an advantage over us by making it possible for her to go to the European Courts with the plea that we are the aggressors, and unjust aggressors upon her rights, that we are bent on forcing war as shown by our refusal to be satisfied by the concessions made by Spain even when those concessions are all that we asked, by our disposition to demand new concessions just as Spain grants the concessions first asked. And President McKinley, by his indecision, his hesitation to ask that which the American people have

with great unanimity demanded for months, and that which alone can bring peace, has given good ground for Spain to rest this plea. Thus before the eyes of monarchical Europe, sympathizing naturally with Spain, we have been made to appear in the wrong, whereas they should have been obliged to recognize the disinterestedness of our motives and the justice of our position.

We are, indeed, no less in the right in now insisting upon the recognition of free Cuba as the only basis for the settlement of our differences with Spain than we would have been if Mr. McKinley had plainly and early made known to Spain this demand and had not fallen into grievous diplomatic bungling by his indecision and hesitation to ask of Spain that single concession that could and can alone prevent war in the fear that such demand would precipitate war. But right though we are we have been made to appear in the wrong in the eyes of all Europe outside of England. And thus by our diplomatic bungling we have been put at a disadvantage that may become serious in the future.

Therefore it behooves Congress to go forward and lead boldly where the President has hesitated to lead and by his indecision gotten himself and the United States into an unenviable position. It behooves Congress to make known to Spain what the President has failed to make known, namely, that only one concession by Spain can avert war, and that is the surrender of her sovereignty over Cuba. It behooves us as a self-respecting people to demand what we expect, what we are resolved on attaining peaceably if we can, but forcibly if we must, the independence of Cuba, and cease to trifle with the question. With nothing short of this will the American people be satisfied, and if Spain will not yield this without war she must yield it after war. On this the American people are resolved and in justice to ourselves the Spanish Government should be promptly and unmistakably acquainted with this resolve; this ultimatum should at once be served.

This, President McKinley has hesitated to do, he has not even so much as made such a demand in the equivocal and sugared language of diplomacy with its hidden meanings, and the President failing, it falls to the lot of Congress to act. The opportunity to so act is now opened by the President's message, the opportunity to set aside, with the least friction possible, the President's policy of indecision and equivocation for one of decision and straightforwardness such as is worthy of a great people imbued with honesty and uprightness, and this opportunity should be availed of. The President asks Congress for advice and affirms his readiness to perform with alacrity whatever course Congress, under the Constitution, may will that he take. This advice Congress should give as a command to speak plainly and boldly to Spain, as a command to demand of Spain just what we expect, just what we will be satisfied with, no more and no less, as a command to use all the forces of the United States to enforce that demand if Spain refuse to grant it.

We can but regret that President McKinley should have made the occasion for Congress taking such action; we can but hope that Congress will take this action, will have taken it before these lines appear in cold type. The President's message, a message of equivocation and indecision, a message fitly crowning a policy born of a faint-heartedness, where courage was needed, makes such action by Congress imperative. As we have said we find no partisan pleasure in pointing out the weakness and contradictions of the President's message. We cannot, for partisanship does not or should not enter into the question; we can only adversely criticise with regret, for in matters involving the foreign relations of the United States we feel that all Americans are partisans of the President.

The President stands in the position of leader, as our chosen commander, and that he must be directed, that he must be given courage where he should be giving decision and courage to the faint-hearted is a misfortune. But as it is true that the President fails to lead, as it is true that he sacrifices much by indecision let

Congress proceed to direct the President so that the Cuban policy of the United States may be one that will command respect. If Congress fails to do this, a goodly part of the American people will be left with the feeling of the soldier who enters into battle with the consciousness that he must fight under an incompetent commander and that all his bravery, all his accomplishments may be brought to naught by the indecision and hesitation of such commander at some critical moment. And this would be a grave misfortune, a cause of untold weakness in any trouble that may come with Spain, trouble that cannot be averted but must be invited by a show of vacillation.

It appears from the President's message that he has never explicitly demanded of Spain that she surrender her waning sovereignty over Cuba. Under that sovereignty have been perpetrated crimes of such enormity as to make the acceptance of other reparation than the destruction of that sovereignty out of the question. No other reparation will satisfy the American people, and President McKinley should have demanded this reparation of Spain, but it appears that he has not.

Some ask, indeed, why we should demand that Spain make reparation for crimes perpetrated against and gross wrongs done other than our own people. But with the great body of American people who strive to put faith in the doctrines of Christianity as inherently just, such question finds intuitive answer that where it is in our power to help our fellow-men, it is our duty to do so; that a crime is a crime against whomsoever it may be perpetrated, and that if we do not lift our hand to prevent the perpetration of crime when we have the power, we fail in our duty; that a wrong done our brothers is a wrong done us, that we are bound, if possible to resent; that unless we would be false to ourselves and our beliefs we must regard the laws of humanity and the precepts of Christianity, and when such laws and precepts are transgressed, and it is in our power to stop the transgression, we are in duty bound to demand that such laws be observed, and insist upon reparation for their transgression. And in Cuba these laws have been transgressed, transgressed in a ruthless way, such as has shocked mankind, and the only guarantee that can be given against their repetition, or, rather, continuance, and hence the only satisfactory reparation that can be made, is the independence of Cuba.

Thus as a Christian people it has become our duty to demand of Spain that she surrender her sovereignty over Cuba. Nothing short of independence can put an end to the continued perpetration of the most shocking and heinous of crimes in Cuba and on the most stupendous of scales, crimes inseparable from Spanish rule. This the consular correspondence sent to Congress along with the President's message makes abundantly clear, this Mr. McKinley must have been well aware of for weeks, months back and while he was negotiating with Spain for the re-establishment of peace on a basis short of Cuban independence and on which all reports in his hands declared the establishment of peace and discontinuance of the reign of destruction and crime and anarchy to be out of the question.

We can only hope that the purpose of Mr. McKinley in thus negotiating and proposing to Spain certain concessions as a basis for peace which could not be accepted was to gain time and stave off a crisis by the art of diplomacy and in the hope that by pushing one demand upon Spain after another she could be gradually led up the point of surrendering her sovereignty over Cuba, a sovereignty that is now and must remain a source of weakness so long as it can be maintained, a sovereignty that is but a cloak for crime. But this policy of diplomatic deceit, unworthy of a republic founded on ideas of justice and fair dealing ended in humiliating exposure and a regrettable weakening of our position for at this game Mr. McKinley and his advisers have proven no adepts. Spain granted the concessions first demanded as a basis for a peaceful settlement of the whole difficulty and thus put Mr. McKinley in the unfortunate position of having to refuse to

be bound by his own offer with no better ground on which to base such refusal than a delay of a few days in the acceptance of such conditions by the Spanish Government. And so stooping to arts only too well known to diplomacy, but that do not bear uncovering, and having the misfortune to have had our resort to such arts exposed, ground has been given for European diplomats and rulers to receive our professions of unselfishness in any steps we may take to establish peace in Cuba and our firm assertions that we have no ulterior purpose in view, no purpose to annex Cuba, with incredulous smiles.

Besides the reasons that impel and justify us as a people respecting the precepts of Christianity to demand Cuban independence of Spain there are other reasons directly affecting our material interests, but of a powerful kind, and quite sufficient in themselves to justify intervention, that impel us to take steps to put an end to Spanish rule in Cuba. These reasons are also recognized and pointed out by President McKinley in his message. They are reasons wrapt up in the right of a people to provide for their own welfare and to intervene and put an end to quarrels in a neighboring state when such quarrels threaten to or do undermine their welfare. This is a right well recognized in international law, being no more nor less than an amplification of that first right of man and nations—namely, the right of self preservation. And the struggle now going on in Cuba, accompanied as it is by gross transgressions of the laws of humanity, is the cause of grave unrest among our people and distraction from their material pursuits, with the result that the material advancement of our people is retarded. Besides, the war has destroyed in great measure a commerce of very considerable proportions that we had built up with Cuba. Therefore, on the ground founded on our right, indeed our duty as a nation, to provide for our general welfare we are called upon to demand and insist upon the severing of the Spanish sovereignty over Cuba, a sovereignty the continuance of which must cause our people great losses.

And the endeavor of Spain to hold such sovereignty over Cuba as she still retains entails upon her great expense, for the productive power of Cuba, at least all of that Cuba within the reach of Spanish arms has been destroyed, and Cuba, in place of producing great wealth of which a large part went to Spain is now a positive drain upon Spain, for she consumes more wealth than she produces. Therefore, to drop her sovereignty over Cuba would cause Spain no hardship but release her from an onerous burden. Of course, the Spanish harbor the hope that peace may be re-established under the rule of Spain, the island be made to produce richly as in the past, and then a tribute laid upon the island for the enrichment of Spain. But such hope is an idle dream for the re-establishment of peace under Spanish rule is impossible unless it be, as General Lee laconically reports, the peace of the wilderness and the grave.

A nation that, as General Lee reported in January last and as set forth in the consular correspondence made public last Monday—a nation that deliberately "transformed about 400,000 self-supporting people, principally women and children, into a multitude to be sustained by the contributions of others or die of starvation or of fevers resulting from a low physical condition and being massed in large bodies, without change of clothing and without food," a nation that has ruthlessly pursued this policy until at least half of these people have been starved loses of right and by the laws of humanity all title to the exercise of sovereignty over such people.

"I estimate," says General Lee, "that probably 200,000 of the rural population in the four western provinces of Cuba have died of starvation and resultant causes." And he continues that in the two eastern provinces, "in the provinces of Puerto Principe and Santiago de Cuba, where the 'reconcentrado order' could not be enforced (the rebels being in possession) the great masses of the people are self-sustaining," and there alone. Thus we

learn that where the Spaniards rule the people starve, where the Cubans rule is there alone opportunity in Cuba to pursue the arts of peace. And yet we recognize the sovereignty of Spain in Cuba while Mr. McKinley tells us that the sovereignty of the Cuban Republic must not be recognized because the Cubans rule with no stability and give no evidence of being reasonably capable, if left to themselves, of discharging the duties of a state. But many fold more satisfactorily do they discharge those duties than do the Spaniards in Cuba.

Still as Mr. McKinley does not give the Spaniards credit for satisfactorily discharging the duties their sovereignty imposes this may not be considered good argument. Moreover he bases his principal argument against the recognition of Cuba as independent on the ground that "recognition of independent statehood is not due to a revolted dependency until the danger of its being again subjugated by the parent state has entirely passed away." This rule, he states, we established for our own guidance early in our history. But if we are to be guided by this rule we should recognize the Cubans as free and independent. For three years Spain has put forth her utmost powers to crush the rebellion and utterly failed, for three years has she drained herself of men and money to the point of exhaustion and the Cubans remain unconquered.

Spain has put forth her best efforts and failed to suppress the rebellion and so shown her inability to subjugate the Cubans, and when arguing against recognition of Cuban independence the President, in his message, declares that recognition of the Cubans as independent will be due when the danger of their being again subjugated by the parent state has entirely passed away. Yet in the closing passages of his message, and with singular contradiction, he declares that Spain's inability to subjugate the Cubans has been proven, and still denies to the Cubans recognition, recognition that they are entitled to under his own statement of what they must do to earn recognition and his own admissions that this they have done, namely, shown the inability of Spain to subjugate them. In the President's own words: "The long trial has proved that the object for which Spain has waged the war (namely, subjugation of the Cubans) cannot be attained. The fire of insurrection may flame or may smoulder with varying seasons, but it has not been, and it is plain that it cannot be, extinguished by present methods."

By what method can it be then extinguished? By war, cruel devastating war? No; for that has been tried and failed. By compromise and the offer of autonomy? No; for that has been tried and failed. By effort of the parent state they cannot be subjugated for all methods have been tried and failed. How, then, can Spain extinguish the rebellion? By her own efforts she cannot, by the assistance of the United States she can. Is it possible that the President should think of rendering such assistance? Perish the thought! But no, the thought will not perish, for Mr. McKinley asks authority to use the forces of the United States to what end? To driving the Spanish troops out of Cuba and forcing the recognition of free Cuba? It does not so appear. It is for the purpose of putting an end to the war that he asks authority to use the forces of the United States, but against whom? Spanish or Cubans or both? He leaves us in the dark. He tells us the purpose is to "secure in the island the establishment of a stable government capable of maintaining order and observing its international obligations, ensuring peace and tranquility and the security of its own citizens as well as our own." But does this mean to use the forces of the United States to establish a Cuban Government or a Spanish Government, to establish a government with the consent of the Cubans or not? A Spanish Government could not be stable, but perhaps the President thinks it could.

We trust Congress will never give the President authority to use the military and naval forces of the United States without so much as knowing against whom he contemplates using them.

And it is just this that Mr. McKinley asks. He asks for authority to use the forces of the United States. But on the side of the Cubans and liberty or on the side of the Spanish, whose hands are stained with the vilest of crimes? We pause for an answer. Let Congress give it clear and sharp.

All that Mr. McKinley seems to have demanded of the Spanish Government is a revocation of the reconcentrado edict and the rendering of assistance to the reconcentrados in conjunction with the United States, this and the granting of an armistice without any rearrangement that such armistice be followed by a treaty of peace recognizing free Cuba, the only basis upon which the Cubans can agree to an armistice. And on paper has the reconcentrado order been revoked, on paper has an order been entered for giving to the reconcentrados assistance to the extent of the \$600,000 out of the Spanish Treasury and at last has the hollow armistice, first refused, been granted.

Thus has Spain granted, at least in name, all the concessions asked by Mr. McKinley, and such concessions we fervently hope the President will not be permitted to accept as removing all differences with the Spanish. A people of whom Consul Barker of Sagua had occasion to write to General Lee as late as March 14th last: "I will thank you to communicate to the Department as quickly as possible that the military commander and other officers of the military positively refuse to allow the reconcentrados, to whom I am issuing food in its raw state, to procure fuel with which to cook it;" a people of whom this could be written are not fitted to rule, the reconcentrados have nothing to hope from them whatever be the number of paper edicts, while such a people rule there can be no peace in Cuba, and for their crime, their crime of starving the rural population of Cuba, a crime of the heart and not of the head, there is no reparation short of their expulsion from Cuba. It is further to be noted that the President, though expressing unqualified confidence in the Naval Court of Inquiry upon the blowing up of the Maine, permits Spain to question the findings and the probity of that court without resentment, and shows every purpose of permitting Spain to make reparation for that act of treachery in her own way and her own time, if at all.

So let Congress up and onward, up and onward in defence of liberty, strike for free Cuba and humanity, resent the insolence of the money changers and thrust aside the demands of Mammon regardless of the President of whom we may well think worse things than we care to speak.

RISING PRICES.

"THE AMERICAN'S" summary of index numbers which we present this week shows that there was a very material and quite generally distributed rise of prices during the quarter ending April 1st last. As shown by the general index number based on the price movements of ninety-nine staple articles of commerce, the general level of prices was nearly 2 per cent. higher on April 1st last than three months before and nearly 10 per cent. higher than on July 1, 1897. That is to say that within nine months prices have risen almost 10 per cent., and within the three last months not quite 2 per cent.

But in this general rise in prices, lines of staple manufactured goods and the raw materials of manufacture have participated only in minor degree. The great rise in prices has been in foodstuffs, in which lines of products the rise in prices during the last nine months has been much more than 10 per cent., in breadstuffs almost 25 per cent. and this great rise has carried up prices in the aggregate by nearly 10 per cent., although prices for raw and manufactured textiles and for metals have risen but 1 or 2 per cent. And what is true of the nine months period

dating from July 1, 1897, which date marks the low water level for prices, is also true of the three months period just closed, save that the rise in the textile and metal groups has been proportionately greater. Indeed, practically the whole of the rise recorded in these groups during the nine months has taken place during the last three, for although prices in these groups rose quite materially during the quarter ending October 1, 1897, they fell during the next quarter, so that on January 1st last, prices in the textile group were lower than on July 1, 1897, and in the metal group only a fraction of a per cent. higher.

Thus it is that prices for manufactured staples and raw products have fluctuated during the last nine months, while prices for agricultural products have steadily risen with the net result that prices for manufactured articles have risen to a small degree, while prices for food products have risen greatly. This movement of prices is very suggestive. It shows that the factors that have resulted in the general rise in prices have borne almost exclusively on food products; that no general cause of rising prices, such as a cheapening of money, had much of a part in causing the rise in prices that has been recorded.

And a cause of rising prices that does not bear upon all products but almost alone upon foodstuffs cannot be lasting unless there have come changes in the conditions regulating the production of foodstuffs such as may be regarded as permanent. If there have come climatic changes affecting the growth and production of cereals such as must be regarded as permanent and limiting the supply of grain then the rise in prices that has been recorded during the past nine months may justly be regarded as permanent. But such changes there have not been. The drought in India of two years ago that brought famine and rendered the Indians too poor to plant and garner a full harvest one year ago, the drought in Australia that caused that island continent to become for a time an importer instead of exporter of wheat and led to the death of one-third of her flocks, the drought in Argentine that caused very much curtailed harvests in the winters of 1896 and 1897, cannot be regarded as indicating a change of climatic condition in those countries, cannot be regarded as indicating that drought has become a permanent fixture with them.

Indeed, all these countries are now free of drought; the wheat crops of 1897-98 in those countries have not been curtailed by unusual lack of water. And so it is that the wheat harvests of Argentine and Australia, which are garnered in January, and the wheat harvest of India, which is garnered in February, are almost, if not quite, up to the average this year, and these countries will each and all have an average surplus of wheat to export, perhaps 80,000,000 bushels all told, against nothing last year, or an amount sufficient to make up about one-third of the normal demands of the wheat-importing countries. It is true that the wheat harvest of India is somewhat small, but this is the result not so much of short crops in some localities, but of the fact that a greater acreage was sown with other cereals, peculiarly Indian, such as the jowar and other millets, and which germinate quicker and are ready for harvesting earlier than wheat. And the Indians short of food, and having to wait for the harvesting of the crops before they could get a solid meal, naturally turned to these grains. Moreover, seed wheat was scarce and so dear as to be beyond the reach of many, so obliging them to plant millets. The result is that, although less wheat has been produced than normal, more of these other grains have been produced, the consequence of which is that India will be able to export quite as much wheat as in years when she raised considerably more, or say, as it is estimated, from 22,000,000 to 26,000,000 of bushels. This grain is only now becoming available for shipment.

So we see that some of the great causes for the rise in foodstuffs during the last nine months are not only not of a lasting kind but no longer present. It is true that with the disappear-

ance of these causes prices for breadstuffs have not fallen. But the time has not yet come. Short crops in other countries than the three which we have mentioned, short crops in countries of the northern hemisphere, countries of Europe had also a great part in causing the relative scarcity of grain last year and forcing up prices. And this cause will not disappear until midsummer, when the grain crops of the northern hemisphere are garnered, or at least until such crops have so far advanced that the yield can be estimated with confidence. If that yield is normal then the last cause that has worked to put up prices of breadstuffs will disappear and prices may be expected to fall unless held up by some abnormal factors growing out of war.

But it is not our present purpose to prognosticate upon the future course of prices, but rather to throw light upon the causes that have brought about the very considerable rise in prices that has taken place during the last nine months. To this end we have directed attention to the fact that the great part of the rise in prices in general is accounted for by the rise in prices for foodstuffs, that prices for staple manufactured articles and raw materials of manufacture have only risen by a small percentage, that this unmistakably indicates that the cause of the rise in prices is not of a general but of specialized nature, that that cause bears directly upon agricultural products, that it is the shortage of crops of the last year or two in the southern hemisphere and last year in continental, especially western Europe, that that shortage, so far as the southern hemisphere is concerned, is already a thing of the past, that by midsummer it bids to be a thing of the past for the whole world and that then the cause of the present rise in prices will also be of the past.

The contrast between the price movement of foodstuffs and of staple manufactured products and raw materials is made doubly significant when we examine it a little in detail and find—we now speak of the nine months period—that wool and woolens have advanced but that cotton and cottons have fallen, that though the minor metals such as copper and lead have risen iron and steel have fallen. For this rise in wool and woolens there are two obvious causes, first the curtailed wool clip owing not only to the diminution of the Australian flocks by the drought of the last two years, but also of the length of fibre and weight of fleece directly due to the same drought and consequent poor condition of the sheep, and, second, the raising of duties by the Dingley Act. The first of these causes has now spent itself, and Australia will undoubtedly soon be increasing her exports of wool. The result is that wool is already falling in the markets of the world. Added to this is a falling off in the demand for wool in our own markets, consequent upon a curtailed demand for woolens, and so during the last three months there has been a weakening in prices for both wool and woolens.

And the same is also true of cottons, which have fallen during the past three months, although raw cotton has risen by a shave. The explanation is a curtailed demand, a demand so curtailed that supply, despite great curtailment in output, has outrun the demand.

As to iron and steel, the same explanation does not hold good for prices have fallen in the face of a rapidly expanding demand. This indicates that as rapidly as the demand has expanded the output of furnaces and mills has expanded faster. And this has occurred in spite of the fact that iron masters complain, and with good reason, that there is no profit in smelting and rolling iron at present prices. That they should, therefore, supply an increased demand at present low prices and so keep down or even depress prices, seems somewhat of an anomaly. But it is not at all. The facts are that the furnaces and mills to do the work are already built, that in idleness taxes and interest charges and certain fixed expenses such as the salaries of officers and watchmen, who cannot be dispensed with unless the plant is to be allowed to go to rack and ruin, run on just as they do when the plants are in operation. Therefore, if a plant can be

operated at a profit without allowing for these charges it will be to the interest of the manager to operate it even if allowing for such charges, it must be operated at a loss for under such conditions the road to bankruptcy and ruin will be less steep with the plant in operation. And so it is that we have had furnaces and rolling mills starting up and an increased demand for iron and steel met at prices that yield no profits; so it is that though the demand for iron and steel has increased by 50 per cent. prices have shrunk, not risen.

This increased demand for iron and steel is indeed a hopeful sign but it should be remarked that much of the increased demand has come from the necessity of renewals of track and structures by our railroads that should have been before made and that can no longer be deferred and second from the increased use of iron and steel for structural purposes in place of timber. Increased demand growing out of the necessity of making deferred renewals cannot be permanent and increased demand coming from the replacing of timber by iron and steel for building purposes is no sign of improvement in trade conditions but simply a mark of the natural evolution going on in the methods of building construction. With steel mills prepared to roll rails for eight or ten thousand miles of new road a year besides the rails needed for renewals on the old there can be no prosperity for such mills when we are only building some 2,000 miles a year or even less, as we have for the past year or two. Nor can an increase in con-

struction to some 2,500 or 3,000 miles, as is promised for this year, bring them activity and prosperity.

Conditions in the iron and steel trade are not then such as promise higher prices. Nor will there be higher prices for woolen goods which are falling, or for cottons which were never so low and still falling, until there comes an increased demand. And this increased demand must obviously come from our agricultural population. Despite the increased sums realized by our farmers during the past year for their crops manufacturers have been disappointed in the demand that was expected to follow the advance in prices for breadstuffs. An increased demand did indeed come from some agricultural communities. But from the South has come a decreased demand that has much offset the increased demand from the grain growing West. And from the disposition of merchants in the West to cancel orders given, to even return goods shipped, to say nothing of much limiting orders for new goods, it is evident these merchants overrated the ability of the farmers to buy, an ability they judged would be greatly increased by the advance in prices for farm products. But for so long have the farmers been driven to an enforced economy and so many of them had fallen into debt to the country stores that they have not increased purchases as expected. The increased sums realized for their crops went in good part to fill old holes, to pay for goods already consumed. This seems to be the only explanation for the lack of a greatly increased demand.

THE AMERICAN'S SUMMARY OF INDEX NUMBERS,

INDICATING THE MOVEMENT OF PRICES.

		Silver.	Breadstuffs, 6 Articles.	Live Stock, 4....	Provisions, 24 Articles.	Hides and Leather, 4 Articles.	Raw and Manufactured Textiles, 11 Articles.	Metals, 12 Articles.	Coal and Coke, 4 Articles.	Mineral and Vegetable Oils, 7 Articles.	Naval Stores, 3 Articles.	Building Materials, 7 Articles.	Chemicals, 11 Articles.	Miscellaneous, 7 Articles.	General Index Number, 100 Articles.
January 1, 1891	.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.
April 1	.	94.25	118.81	116.98	105.84	100.52	98.57	92.84	98.05	99.84	110.60	97.87	98.70	100.38	101.96
July 1	.	98.21	103.90	110.38	100.40	98.26	95.60	95.22	99.89	94.76	111.61	95.24	90.69	100.56	98.28
October 1	.	93.42	97.94	112.49	98.09	96.62	96.25	90.16	102.10	87.18	104.41	87.88	89.85	89.08	94.71
January 1, 1892	.	91.02	97.17	104.35	95.08	94.18	96.15	89.01	98.19	88.82	94.19	90.86	88.31	93.98	98.12
April 1	.	88.83	89.45	110.13	97.96	91.60	96.20	84.02	99.77	88.17	104.42	92.81	85.64	91.81	92.87
July 1	.	84.51	92.58	113.53	97.56	95.28	97.50	81.99	100.02	81.42	88.57	89.58	87.08	99.58	92.85
October 1	.	79.76	82.77	104.88	104.24	94.82	95.89	81.93	103.46	84.88	84.17	90.02	88.04	95.82	93.60
January 1, 1893	.	79.52	80.59	119.68	113.45	93.47	105.41	80.24	108.94	92.10	81.24	90.57	90.05	104.70	98.42
April 1	.	80.	79.99	125.28	115.84	95.28	102.92	81.26	97.72	98.28	81.99	87.91	92.74	109.29	99.75
July 1	.	69.94	73.62	110.01	109.32	92.76	90.62	77.09	94.48	90.81	79.68	85.84	89.69	100.69	98.89
October 1	.	71.62	74.82	108.84	107.84	90.44	84.41	74.16	92.41	90.19	77.11	88.71	89.52	100.42	91.43
January 1, 1894	.	65.87	68.46	101.33	97.45	89.28	86.89	67.93	89.77	90.89	75.87	86.83	88.18	97.08	87.59
April 1	.	58.21	70.88	97.78	92.97	89.90	79.49	66.11	85.98	92.09	77.84	80.05	89.25	90.76	84.70
July 1	.	60.59	74.82	92.42	93.70	88.57	78.81	66.13	88.11	92.86	89.89	78.71	85.96	91.45	84.40
October 1	.	60.84	69.08	101.57	97.68	86.38	74.82	64.25	79.82	90.46	81.64	75.12	79.89	82.89	82.81
January 1, 1895	.	57.51	70.58	84.88	91.79	90.19	69.18	59.99	78.83	91.23	76.82	81.84	77.76	79.62	79.74
April 1	.	64.67	72.45	104.41	97.31	96.48	69.68	60.26	79.84	100.26	85.65	79.05	76.77	74.51	82.59
July 1	.	63.95	75.88	100.54	98.59	131.99	74.58	69.10	81.58	108.18	87.85	80.68	76.88	81.87	86.05
October 1	.	64.31	62.53	79.54	86.56	182.86	81.48	75.82	89.86	102.85	88.10	82.40	77.95	86.68	84.88
January 1, 1896	.	63.95	59.59	78.88	85.93	107.07	79.96	67.42	96.97	108.22	81.19	87.40	96.27	91.14	85.29
April 1	.	65.89	68.73	68.47	88.60	97.74	73.08	67.25	90.85	99.01	82.66	88.22	82.86	90.15	81.29
July 1	.	66.23	55.70	78.29	78.64	101.28	72.84	67.11	98.73	*91.67	94.28	86.67	81.70	82.11	+78.81
October 1	.	63.50	59.94	69.23	79.16	95.12	77.88	64.88	90.95	*89.66	91.42	82.88	79.21	82.92	+78.84
January 1, 1897	.	62.16	68.46	77.32	82.68	108.92	75.41	62.69	89.59	*85.07	90.99	86.76	77.64	84.48	+79.95
April 1	.	59.52	64.25	88.94	84.15	111.49	73.58	60.66	84.85	*86.68	91.27	78.21	80.69	80.84	+79.88
July 1	.	57.60	61.60	75.86	78.62	106.07	74.09	59.10	85.12	*88.51	86.06	78.25	76.67	79.79	+76.88
October 1	.	52.69	71.88	82.45	90.21	116.09	74.99	61.16	105.79	*81.88	92.81	79.18	82.49	85.91	+82.88
January 1, 1898	.	55.09	74.87	81.82	86.82	116.56	78.77	59.30	102.86	*81.08	88.21	82.85	84.90	86.61	+82.10
April 1	.	53.29	76.42	86.87	90.	115.79	74.65	59.84	100.24	*88.96	88.59	88.75	84.88	87.67	+88.70

*Six Articles. +Ninety-nine Articles.

And if the higher prices of last year for foodstuffs did not result in an increased demand for manufactured goods sufficient to raise prices when, in view of the probability that much lower prices for breadstuffs will be realized next year, may prices for manufactured products be expected to rise? It is a doleful question.

During the past nine months there has indeed been a factor in operation other than the shortage of crops abroad that would naturally tend to raise prices, namely, an increase in the volume of money in circulation. Indeed this factor has been in operation for upwards of nearly two years. On July 1, 1896, the amount of money in circulation in the United States was estimated at \$1,509,725,200, on July 1, 1897, at \$1,646,028,246, on April 1st last at \$1,756,058,645. This great increase has resulted in large part from the importation of gold and the coinage of new gold, the product of American mines. To additions made in this way have been the additions made by reducing the cash balance in the Treasury, that is by paying money out of the Treasury in excess of receipts which has been necessitated by the deficits in revenues, and further additions have been made by increasing the government's balances with the banks.

But this increase in circulation was for a long time quite without effect on prices of products, for this increase was gathered into the New York banks and largely thrown into the channels of speculation rather than of production. The consequence was that the increase in circulation led to rising prices for stock exchange securities, but not for the products of labor. Indeed prices for such products and so the profits of industry fell, all of which tended to centralize the money of the country more and more in the speculative channels. And so it is that even now, and in spite of the rise in prices for agricultural products, prices for manufactured textiles and iron and steel products have risen little if at all. This all goes to show that it is shortage of crops abroad that has been the great cause of the rise in prices during the past nine months.

It is only within three months that money has commenced to flow away from New York and the channels of speculation, it is only within three months that prices for stock exchange securities have tended downward and it is only within three months that the increased amount of money in circulation could have been any material factor in the raising of prices. Some it may have been but that it has not been the major is shown by the fact that even during the last three months raw and manufactured textiles and metals have not risen in price so much as foodstuffs which shows that the major cause of the rise in prices bore upon foodstuffs with greatest force and that cause was obviously shortage in the food supply.

So far we have confined our remarks to foodstuffs, to staple manufactured textiles and the raw materials thereof and to metals. Reference to our summary of index numbers will show very considerable change in prices in those groups of commodities of lesser importance. It will be seen that groups of products besides foodstuffs have scored very material advances in prices during the last three months, notably the group comprising building materials. But it is natural that building materials should advance in the spring with increased building activity. Of the other groups it will be noted that hides and leather fell slightly during the past three months, that coal and coke and chemicals also fell in the aggregate. As compared with prices of nine months ago, however, all these groups show material advances. In hides and leather and also chemicals this may be attributed to the raising of tariff duties and the supply and marketing of coal and coke are so subject to artificial restrictions that prices move with little regard to conditions affecting other products, move up when the agreements of the coal carrying companies to restrict production, restrain competition and hold up prices are drawn tightly and adhered to, move down when such agreements are broken or unobserved.

We append our usual quarterly summary of index numbers showing in detail the movement of prices and based on prices collated by Bradstreet's Commercial Agency.

GOOD NEWS FROM NORTH CAROLINA. SENATOR BUTLER MEETS HIS WATERLOO.

As a member of the State Executive Committee of the Peoples party, I attended the meeting held in Raleigh, N. C., on the 5th of April. As an original anti-fusionist who has fought fusion since it was inaugurated in this state by Senator Butler, in 1894, and for a long time single-handed and alone, I was made happy by what was done and what I learned. Senator Butler was present, accompanied by three Congressmen, to aid us with his advice, but his advice was entirely unheeded. His especial object was to have the committee call a meeting of the state convention on the 25th of May, the day already appointed for the meeting of the Democratic State Convention, in order that there might be an unlimited opportunity for dickering and trading, but the committee, by a vote of 16 to 4, named the 17th of May instead. This puts the meeting of our convention nine days in advance of the Democratic convention. One of his friends in the committee, while Senator Butler was present, proposed that the committee endorse the addresses on co-operation issued by the national chairman, but it met with no second and with such prompt opposition that it was withdrawn. I have noticed for some time the growing dissatisfaction of the rank and file of our party in our state with the wretched condition of our party in this state growing out of the fusion or the steadily unceasing determination to get back to the middle of the road, and the growth of that sentiment is rapidly increasing now. I will not undertake to predict what the state convention will do, but it certainly will not hastily enter into entangling alliances with any party. Populism has been sleeping, it is not dead, and North Carolina will be redeemed.

GEORGE E. BOGGS.

Waynesville, N. C., April 7, 1898.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Pilgrim Suits Re-fashioned Up to Date.

The New Puritanism. Papers by LYMAN ABBOTT, AMORY H. BRADFORD, CHARLES A. BERRY and others. New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert. \$1.25.

Last November the congregation of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of Henry Ward Beecher's acceptance of the pastorate. The personal element was subordinated to the more practical end of reviewing the development of religious thought since that event, with special reference to the remarkable change that has come over the creed of Congregationalism. That this has been little short of revolutionary is proclaimed in the title of the book, which is also the title of Dr. Lyman Abbott's commemoration sermon. This is followed by addresses on selected topics by representative ministers of the denomination, namely, Rev. Amory A. Bradford, on Puritan Principles and the Modern World; Dr. C. A. Berry, of England, on Beecher's Influence on Religious Thought in England; Rev. G. A. Gordon, of Boston, on the Theological Problem for To-day; Rev. Washington Gladden, on Social Problems of the Future; Prest. W. J. Tucker, of Dartmouth College, on the Church of the Future, with a couple of speeches by Drs. Abbott and Berry on the general subject. For a Church which prides itself on having no rigid standard of orthodoxy this volume is to be considered as an authoritative statement of its position for the time being, or, to put it more accurately, it marks the present camping ground of the left wing of the Congregational army, ever on the march. This is specially interesting because of the pronounced liberalism of Plymouth Church under its famous pastor's leadership and the charge of virtual Unitarianism sometimes brought against Dr. Abbott. We now question this book upon the attitude of the Congregationalism it represents towards the theological and social problems of the day.

Before doing this it will be well to remind ourselves of a few facts on which the answers we shall find have an important bearing. Congregationalism, in this country and in England, has been losing ground for many years. It has held conferences to find out why the working classes give it the cold shoulder, preferring to go, if anywhere, to the older ornate churches, such as the establishment in England, or to Methodist, Baptist, or unsectarian revival services. In the competition for popularity Congregationalism has dropped almost out of sight. Fifty, and down to twenty-five years ago, it had its full share of famous preachers, who preached a muscular theology, its churches and services

were moderate in display, intellectuality dominated over the sensuous and emotional, the pews were well filled and the organization was a well-defined force for good. On the other side of the Atlantic it fully merited the tribute Mr. Gladstone publicly paid it some-twenty-five years ago when he called the Congregational nonconformists "the back-bone of the Liberal party." They were the pioneers in progressive moral and political movements, their grand crowning achievement was to be the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of England in the name of religious equality. The battle-royal has long been raging between that powerful institution and the free churches. Looking back over the results we see that instead of the church being levelled down, the free churches have been levelling themselves up to its standard. Hence the impossibility nowadays of knowing a church by its architecture, or, sometimes, by its altar or choral features. The plain, four-square meeting house and simple singing have blossomed into gothic edifices with spires, belfries, stained windows, chancels, and occasionally naves. The advertising of Sunday musical performances and the leaning to a liturgical service would certainly startle the fathers if they could revisit their old haunts, in whose high backed box pews they used to sing Watt's cosy hymn with pious gusto :

We are a garden walled around,
Chosen, and made peculiar ground,
A little spot enclosed by grace,
Out of the world's wide wilderness.

Dr. Abbott smiles at the Old Puritanism and its garden wall. It was densely ignorant of the esthetic mode of interpretation, by which the hardest creeds and commandments become fascinatingly easy to obey. Its doctrine of the will was fatalistic and its religion unnatural. Its rule of life sanctioned "considerable exhilaration" at ministerial gatherings, where "the sideboard, with the spillings of water, and sugar, and liquor, looked and smelled like the bar of a very active grog-shop." So wrote Beecher's father of a Plymouth ordination. It kept silent about slavery, suffered little children to go to a realistic hell without a clerical protest, and held missions to the heathen to be an impious interference with Almighty wisdom. Dr. Abbott does not anticipate any possible rising of this ghost during his future glorifications of these his old Puritan ancestors as the backbone of a great Christian nation. The New Puritanism is far too polite to keep up these manners and customs. Methodism and Unitarianism were crystallized protests and revolts against the old order, and the radicalism of Plymouth Church, and those it represents, is a revolt against the emotional narrowness of the one and the denial of the strict Trinitarian doctrine by the other. The ethical system of Coleridge, Maurice, Stanley and Phillips Brooks has brought a new wine out of the old bottle, restoring free will and the right of free interpretation of Scripture to men, giving the fullest liberty of opinion upon every doctrinal point save that of the divinity of Jesus. "I confess," says Dr. Abbott, "it fills me with wonder that Mr. Beecher should ever have been regarded as a Unitarian, or this church should ever have been looked at as in any sense a Unitarian church, or, if I may be allowed to say so, that its present pastor should ever have been thought to be Unitarian in his tendency." So we learn that the New Puritanism has not pulled down that old garden wall, but has stretched it round a larger area and put easier-turning weather vanes atop of heightened steeples. Under the new dispensation every pew-renter is his own Pope, Council, Synod, or Presbytery. "I will exercise my own rational judgment in determining what Christ said; I will exercise it on the Gospels as freely as I exercise it anywhere else . . . but when I have found out what Christ teaches, that is final, that to me is law." On the modest assumption that Dr. Abbott owns second-cousinship to Omniscience, his defiance of the value of special gifts of spiritual discernment and critical acumen in others may go for what it is worth, but if he admits possible fallibility of judgment in these deep things, had not that garden wall better go?

Later on he asks and answers the question, "What is a church of God? It (he is still speaking of the New Puritanism) is not a body of men who come together for esthetic enjoyment, to listen to fine music and rejoice in a beautiful house or to be pleased by oratorical display and splendid eloquence, or to be instructed and uplifted through the intellect and by discussion." How, then, is "my own rational judgment" to be exercised, the Gospels sifted by "our reason," and the truth found? Dr. Abbott rightly holds a real church to be a band of devoted workers serving humanity for love of it and of the divine, but it is shortsighted to suggest that even the Newest Puritanism is indifferent to the prevalent professional use of all the pleasure-

giving arts as aids to faith. Let Plymouth Church make the experiment, lock up the organ, strip the cushions and footstools and fans from the pews, and pick a less versatile pastor; or suppose Dr. Abbott were to build a whitewashed barn temple in a poor district and minister therein without the reflected halo of a famous predecessor and the comfortable patronage of Dives to mitigate the unpleasantness of personal contact with Lazarus.

Dr. Bradford exemplifies the paradoxical claims of New Puritanism in a few crisp words. "At one time Puritanism seemed synonymous with narrow theology, bigotry . . . spiritual despotism . . . Freedom of thought is now realized wherever Puritanism is in control . . . The modern world says—Every man is at liberty to think as he chooses; Puritanism replies: Yes, so long as he remembers that no one can escape from the authority of truth." Dr. Abbott and Dr. Bradford are chasing each other round the garden wall, A. says, "I think as I choose and my thought is the truth, and it satisfies me that freedom is bounded by our wall, *ergo*, all outside it are in bondage because they do not come in and share my truth;" and B. says, "It is nonsense to think you can think as you choose, but you may choose to think whatever you like to think provided you do not stray beyond the wall fixed where it (temporarily) is by (evershifting) Authority." The elasticity of theological language is admirably displayed in the statement that "freedom of thought is now realized wherever Puritanism is in control; if read by the wayfaring man mistaking it for a bit of plain English, he might justly suspect the writer of slovenliness in blending elements that differ as fire from water, or at least of putting the cart before the horse. Dr. Bradford loves the old Puritans but neither they nor their successors "must ever again desecrate cathedrals or dare to destroy that which is beautiful in art." He points out among the Puritan principles (though these are not by any means original with or peculiar to Puritanism) of which our society needs the re-enforcing, the duty of limiting liberty of thought in religious matters by having respect for "the truth"; the duty of drawing a strict line between right and wrong, virtue and vice, in public and private life; and the duty of maintaining the right of the people to rule. "If I were asked what is the most ominous fact in the life of this country to-day, I should without hesitation answer—the defeat of the people. The fundamental principle of modern civilization is the right of the people to rule; but in this country at least the people do not rule. . . . Two great nations, after glaring at one another for more than a century, conclude they have shaken fists long enough, and that they had better clasp hands and prove themselves the brothers that they are in blood, language, history, religion, and the people in both nations lift such a cry of gladness as has not been heard for a quarter of a century. This is the people's business, and they have a right to be heard. But no, the machinery of government is straightway invoked that prejudice may rule and the people be humiliated and disgraced. Thus the government of the people, for the people, and by the people has failed almost before the echoes of Lincoln's oration have died away." With sincere respect for and sympathy with Dr. Bradford's desire for the brotherhood of nations, this expression of it is a good illustration of the pulpit habit of loose generalization and slurring over vital difficulties which more than anything has caused the body of the people to stay away from the New Puritan church in particular. It tells of the belittling influence a long course of preaching from an eminence down to the silenced flock below has upon the preacher's well-meaning mind. By what authority does Dr. Bradford proclaim that the American people and the people of England are pining for re-union? What gives the theologian, trained in other than worldly lore, so much sounder an understanding of the business of secular life than the man of affairs or the political student has? Perhaps it may be rather hard on estimable expounders of mysteries and dealers in noble sentiment to expect them to show equally profound and practical knowledge in mundane matters. Into some they undoubtedly see further than is given to the common intelligence, as, for instance, in Dr. Bradford's striking explanation of a familiar fact in military history. "What made Cromwell's Ironsides invincible? They could fight all day because they had prayed all night." Within the garden wall he that hath regulated ears can hear with acceptance things which, in the matter-of-fact world outside, would stir his "own rational judgment" to demand better proof. Every man to his trade, and when we step into our neighbor's workshop we shall only be doing the civil thing to him and to our "rational judgment" if we forbear to dogmatize on what we do not fully know. It is a pity for any good and great public teacher to mistake his audience for the nation.

As a whole these addresses, admirable as they are in spirit and intention, do but little to inspire a hope that the New Puritanism will in our day regain its lost hold on either the masses or the thinkers. Dr. Abbott is probably unfortunate in the choice of his title. Of all names least calculated to attract the intelligent seeker for truth the Puritan name, rightly or wrongly, is about the worst, and for the reason that intelligence can grasp, more or less respectfully, the idea of thought which is free, and of thought which is bound, when it can neither grasp nor tolerate a chameleon creed which is proffered as an open prairie, when it proves to be a walled garden. Despite the show of non-sectarian liberty in these addresses there is something in each of them which, when looked at closely, turns out to be the Old Puritanism writ small and almost lost in the pretty flourishes that frame it. That its people and leaders are doing valiant practical work in succoring the poor and purifying social life is of infinitely greater importance than any adaptations of old standards to new fashions, and that they are doing this everywhere we cordially acknowledge.

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Cuba.

The Island of Cuba. By ANDREW SUMMERS ROWAN and MARATHON MONTROSE RAMSEY. New York: Henry Holt & Co. \$1.25.

The eyes of the American people have, during many decades, been periodically turned toward Cuba, and now again is their attention centered on events that have their origin in that island. Now, more than ever before does heartfelt sympathy go forth to our sorely distressed brethren in Cuba, all the instincts of right, justice and humanity that are inbred in the American people revolt at the conditions that exist there—conditions created by a people who call themselves Christians, but whose acts belie their professions—and with practically unanimous voice the American nation declares that these conditions must and shall be put an end to. With events crowding fast upon one another and new developments occurring daily and hourly, with peace or war in the balance, it is natural that the public mind should be focussed on the immediate present rather than engaged in a studious search for the producing causes of the trouble. Even so, it is desirable to look into these causes, not so much for a knowledge of them, as to obtain from them a broader and sounder understanding of present conditions, and so open up the way to profit from the past and guard against a recurrence of like trouble in the future.

This book was written nearly two years since and for this reason leaves somewhat to be desired, still it fills a place almost vacant and furnishes a good basis for a correct understanding of the Cuban question, and a guide to its solution, the first step to which is Spanish evacuation of Cuba. The book is divided into three parts: A description of the island, geographical and physical; a sketch of its history from Columbus; a brief exposition of the character and methods of its government, and a discussion of the economic and commercial interests of the island. Since its discovery by the great navigator during his first voyage to the New World, Cuba has been a Spanish possession. Then, as since, the overpowering desire of Spain was for gold; this her explorers sought, this her soldiery fought for, this her rulers clutched for. Cuba did not seem to offer a likely field and so Haiti was first exploited. But her turn came in 1511, and since then she has been drained ceaselessly that Spain, or rather her ruling classes, might benefit. When the savage soldiery invaded Cuba from Haiti they met with no opposition, save from a small band of Haitian refugees, who knew by hard experience what to expect from the Spanish. The leader of this band, when about to be burnt for having fought for his liberty, was offered the Christian sacrament by his blood-stained captors, and when he asked if any Spaniards would be found in the promised land and was assured that there would, he exclaimed: "I will not go to a place where I may meet one of that accursed race." What a volume those few words convey, and how many others during the centuries since must have shared this feeling of hatred for a race that while Christian in name has been barbarian in practice!

Nothing better demonstrates the blighting effect of Spanish rule than the fact that Cuba with an area almost that of Pennsylvania, great natural resources and unexcelled fertility, a country that Columbus spoke of as "the goodliest land that eye ever saw" has never supported more than about 1,750,000 souls. Prof. Ramsey tells how Cuba has been made to bear alien burdens, her people taxed not only to support an oppressive, extravagant and corrupt administration there, but to maintain Spanish operations in which they have no interest and have

derived no benefit, direct or indirect, all because nature has endowed her bountifully. Cuba has always been governed, or misgoverned, for the benefit of the ruling people, never with justice, and with rare exceptions in utter disregard of every Cuban interest. She has been drained, her people impoverished that others might profit thereby. Naturally, discontent has developed and from time to time there has been rebellion against the oppression of the Spanish yoke, but so far never successful in throwing it off. One of the causes here given for the discontent that preceded the present war for independence is, that the fall in prices of her chief productions, of which sugar ranks first, wrought great hardships upon the Cuban people, taxed as they were to the full extent of their ability to pay even when they received the former higher prices. Prof. Ramsey ascribes the fall in the price of raw cane sugar to competition from beet sugar, but the chief cause, outside of the very marked fall in the general price level of commodities, as measured in gold, during the last five years, is that since the creation of the Sugar Trust it has been practically the only purchaser of cane sugars and has therefore been able to dictate the price in large measure.

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An Irish Patriot-Poet in a Roman Toga.

Ireland; with other Poems. By LIONEL JOHNSON. Boston: Copeland & Day. \$1.50.

The easy way to deal with new poetic writings is to draw freely upon the familiar jargon which every space filler in the bookish periodicals keeps on draught, and flood the author with superlatives of praise or pity. Much depends on the ownership of the organ on which the critic plays his tune. Mr. Johnson has many good friends among his English reviewers. Himself an Irishman to the core, a Celt of Celts, a Catholic, a rebel whose pen is his keen, flashing lance, this chorus of applause for his first poetry book is all the more striking. This is his second venture, and he seems emboldened by the cordial recognition of his powers to turn them full tilt against the political oppressors of his people, in the teeth of their compliments. The singularity of these facts gives deeper interest to the poems here gathered, and lifts them out of the average run of minor poets' writings, which seldom call for special notice. Having got this far it is proper to indicate the class to which Mr. Johnson's poetry belongs. It is very far from the popular kind. He is not singable, even in his most song-like pieces, nor will the multitude find him especially readable. To undoubtedly exceptional elevation of thought he brings a pure artistic feeling, which finds apparently no difficulty in expressing itself in the cold classic vein nor in the sensuous note of Celtic rhapsody. So it is only fair to the poet to have these diverse considerations in mind when estimating his work. First and foremost, and by deliberate choice, he is an artist, has labored lovingly but severely in mastering the secrets of the great poets of old. That he has succeeded in reconciling old modes with modern, and possibly inferior, tastes is a matter for his readers to determine for themselves. They will not be numerous, but a few eagles are sometimes preferable to a sack of nickels. This peculiarly English pattern of poetry, severely aristocratic and exclusive, is in remarkable contrast to the splendid breadth and beauty of the poetry we have come to regard as characteristically Irish. Mr. Johnson serves his really fiery curries tepid. Epicures will find rare enjoyment at his table, but the bulk of his guests are likely to leave hungry. A robust farmer, accustomed to strong ale and whiskey, was dined by the squire, who proudly broached his costliest claret. On gently sounding his neighbor as to his appreciation of the rarity the disappointing verdict was, "Well, it's nice sort o' stuff—but you don't seem to get no forrader." We look for stingo in Irish poetry, and his is a leathery heart that does not feel itself bounding forward with enthusiastic sympathy before he has got half way through any song with the true Irish ring. Mr. Johnson's opening poem, "Ireland," is long, learned, polished, fervid. It is a wail, not so piercing as a "keen" beginning.

Thy sorrow, and the sorrow of the sea
Are sisters; the sad winds are of thy race
The heart of melancholy beats in thee,
And the lamenting spirit haunts thy face,
Mournful and mighty Mother!

He tenderly recalls the memories of Sarsfield, Fitzgerald, Emmet, "the white soul of Davis, the worn, waste soul of Mangan, the surging soul of Grattan," whose names inspire him to predict the coming triumph of "our faith"; "God's bells

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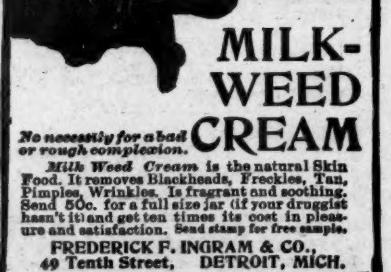
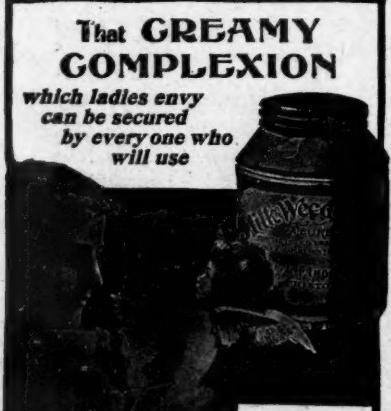
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shall ring, and all sad days be dead." Then follows a patriotic outburst of high and earnest eloquence, of which these are two stanzas:

But desolate be the houses of thy foes ;
Sorrow encompass them, and vehement wrath
Besiege them ; be their hearts cold as the snows ;
Let lamentation keen about their path.
The fires of God burn round them, and His night
Lie on their blinded eyes.

And when they call to the Eternal Light,
None shall make answer to their stricken cries.
Mercy and pity shall not know them more ;
God shall shut to the door,
And close on them His everlasting skies.

How long ? Justice of Very God ! How long ?
The Isle of Sorrows from on old hath trod
The stony road of unremitting wrong,
The purple winepress of the wrath of God ;
Is then the Isle of Destiny indeed
To grief predestinate,
Ever foredoomed to agonize and bleed,
Beneath the scourging of eternal fate ?
Yet against hope shall we still hope, and still
Beseach the Eternal Will :
Our lives to this one service dedicate.

There are twenty-five of these stanzas, exalted in tone and artistically near perfection, but there is more living and burning poetry in many a twenty-five line song of as fervid and patriotic Irish singers whose names are hardly known. Mr. Johnson must not be judged by any standard than the classic one he sets for himself. Among the few lyrical pieces that in praise of London touches the mark of sweet simplicity.

Let others chaunt a country praise,
Fair river walks and meadow ways ;
Dearer to me my sounding days
In London town :
To me the tumult of the street
Is no less music than the sweet
Surge of the wind among the wheat,
By dale or down.

Nevertheless there is affectation in even this cockneyism, as in almost every page of a book itself affected from cover to cover. Not to pick at pet words and phrases, and archaic spellings, it is slightly absurd to Latinize the setting of the contents, titles of pieces and scripture texts, and overindulge in italics. Another fad is awkwardly misleading at first; every poem is dedicated to some more or less distinguished person, a shrewd device to increase importance, but the reader is puzzled by fancying the verses were written on or to these persons. Thus it looks as though Mrs. Clement Shorter, whose name heads the poem "Ireland," is the sorrowing sister. This poem is addressed "To Miss Louise Imogen Guiney."

Would that with you I were imparadised,
White angels round Christ !
That, by the borders of the eternal sea
Singing, I too might be :
Where dewy green the palm trees on the strand,
Your gentle shelter, stand.

And so on, but Miss Guiney is not yet one of the celestials the poet is apostrophizing. The stanzas on "Ninety-eight" have mettle in them. These are the last :

"Who fears to speak of Ninety-eight?"
Not he, who hates a poisonous peace ;
For while the days of triumph wait,
And till the days of sorrow cease,
He, with the Lord of Hosts his friend
Will fight for Ireland to the end.

Let sword cross sword, or thought meet thought,
One fire of battle thrills them both.
Deliverance only can be wrought
By warfare without stay or sloth ;
And by your prayers at Heaven's high gate,
True hearts, that beat in Ninety-eight.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

THE ISLAND OF CUBA. A Descriptive and Historical Account of the "Great Antilla." By Andrew Summers Rowan and Marathon Montrose Ramsey. Pp. 279. New York: Henry Holt & Co. \$1.25.

THE DURKET SPERRIT. A Novel. By Sarah Barnwell Elliott. Pp. 222. New York: Henry Holt & Co. \$1.25.

GUESSES AT THE RIDDLE OF EXISTENCE, and Other Essays on Kindred Subjects. By Goldwin Smith. Pp. 244. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.25.

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Of course, you will have to take something for your blood this spring. It is a foolish risk to do otherwise. Maybe you are subject to chronic catarrh during the winter, which has run you down. Perhaps you have had la grippe, from which you have never fully recovered. Your blood may be out of order, or possibly you are bilious or constipated, nervous or dull, sleepless or languid, restless or tired; at any rate, whatever may be your condition, you ought to, and probably will, take some spring medicine—something to invigorate, something to cleanse, something to strengthen. Those who select Pe-ru-na run no risk, as this remedy covers the whole ground.

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Joint Newspaper Debate.

A joint newspaper debate begins March 30th between *The Referendum*, Populist, of Shoals, Indiana, and *The City Star*, Democratic, of Vincennes, Indiana. The subject discussed is that part of the Chicago Democratic Platform relating to "Coin Redemption" of paper money, attended with a declaration favoring free coinage of silver. *The Referendum* attacks, *The City Star* defends "Coin Redemption." This discussion will bring out the heart of the money question, showing the fallacy of a "metal base" advocated by both Democrats and Republicans, and now covered with a log of superstition, mystery and selfish lies. *The Referendum* will publish both sides of the discussion in full. Send 50 cents to *The Referendum*, Shoals, Ind., and get this debate and unique paper from March 30th to November 10, 1898.

- IN PRAISE OF OMAR. By Hon. John Hay. Pp. 10. Portland, Me.: Thomas B. Mosher. 25 cents.
- PAULA. A Sketch from Life. By Victoria Cross. Pp. 223. New York: George Munro's Sons. 25 cents.
- THE TRIUMPH OF DEATH. By Gabriele D'Annunzio. Pp. 265. New York: George Munro's Sons. 25 cents.

BRIEFER NOTICES.

Sanitary Engineering. By WM. PAUL GERHARD, C.E. New York: The Author. 36 Union Square, East.

The substance of this volume was given as a lecture before the Franklin Institute, Philadelphia. The author has lived for many years in Europe and Africa, actively pursuing his profession, and he brings a wide experience to bear on his work under American conditions. He is also a member of several professional institutions in this, his native country. The book insists on the vital importance of the subject, which is properly beginning to create its own specialists. The chapters discuss every branch of the subject, theoretically and practically, from the several standpoints of the profession, the private house and municipal government.

**

Tales of Unrest. By JOSEPH CONRAD. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.

The short story is more than holding its own as a rival of the orthodox novel. Five are here collected, each with its own title, the first, "Karain, a Memory," is a story of a chief away off in the Malay Archipelago, pathetic and picturesque. The next, entitled "The Idiots," opens with a drive "along the road from Treguier to Kervanda," and we freely class ourselves among the idiots the author leaves foundering in ignorance of the whereabouts of those inconsequential places. From this French story we pass to one of Africa, and then to London, and then return to the Malay. They make a goodly book, dramatically constructed, and with just enough foreign spice to make them savory to palates jaded with local fiction, whose name, unfortunately, seems to be legion.

**

Her Heart's Desire. By CHARLES GARVICE. New York: George Munro's Sons. 25c.

The English maker of this Cockney story, printed on cheap and nasty paper, is one of the prolific popular fictionists of whose existence the public remain peacefully ignorant until some quarrel or statement of sensational earnings goes the round of the papers. In this case Mr. Garvice favors us with a printed address to "my American readers," calling upon us to sympathize with himself and his publishers because somebody has been pirating several of his stories, after altering them. "We authors are impulsive, if you will," says he, so unable to wait for the law to move he implores "the great American public" to remember that if they buy any Garvice paper novels without the authorized publisher's name, "they run the risk of purchasing—and, alas! reading—that which is not mine." Having thus done our part in saving the nation from this great calamity, we respectfully confess that we scarcely think there is really so great a risk as Mr. Garvice dreads.

**

In Praise of Omar. An address by the HON. JOHN HAY. Portland, Me.: Thomas B. Mosher. 25 cents.

This is the charming short address our Ambassador at the Court of St. James' gave before the Khayyam Club in London last fall. Everyone cut the speech out of the papers at the time and enclosed it in his book of the *Rubaiyat*. The graceful compliment of this little reprint in quaint bookform is well deserved. A happier speech was never delivered in like conditions. The only criticism possible is that the booklet is too much of a gem, typographically and otherwise, to be regarded as anything but a sort of literary toy.

**

The Medic-Legal Journal. New York: Clark Bell.

We apologize to Mr. Clark Bell for obtruding the unpleasing information that in styling himself "Clark Bell, Esq.," he is really guilty of flat blasphemy against the English fashion he adores and thinks he is adopting. No Esq. is an Esq. in business. If the object is to ridicule a practically meaningless class distinction by thrusting it most to the front where it is least

at home, there is no harm in amusing us by sticking the thing all over the cover, publisher, "Clark Bell, Esq.," copyrighted by "Clark Bell, Esq.," article on Cigarettes, by "Clark Bell, Esq." The magazine, of which this is the current number, contains much miscellaneous matter coming under the general title. The article on cigarette smoking gives facts and opinions to controvert the popular belief that this indulgence is injurious.

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The Hesperian. St. Louis.

The current number of this always enjoyable Western magazine hits the taste of the hour in a quaint way by giving a frontispiece picture of the first ironclad, built in 1585 to drive away the besiegers of Antwerp. Like some of its more pretentious successors, it came to an untimely and undignified end, stuck fast in a sand bank. The leading article is a defence of and plea for actors, both of which seasonable aids they undoubtedly stand in need of. The essay on Daudet, and that on Voltaire and Rousseau, though patchworky, are interesting and will be helpful to many. The *Hesperian* has a shrewd and sound opinion of Stevenson, the over-rated artist in words. It refuses to share the inebriation certain New York monthlies experience on sipping one of his sparkling pages. He is finding his proper level among the minor story tellers, but he will always be numbered among the picked essayists. A local test of literary judgment receives deservedly scathing comment. The public librarian asked "ladies and gentlemen of extended reading and acknowledged taste" to name the ten best, and ten second best novels, and ten minor novels. The first list was made up of Thackeray, Hugo, George Eliot, Dickens, Scott and Cervantes, with Hawthorne as the last. This precious list is more remarkable for its omissions than its selections, but it represents majority taste, and majorities are, by count of noses, wiser than minorities by weight of brains.

ABOUT BOOKS AND WRITERS.

The Booksellers' League have held their annual feast and some of the speeches are given at length in the *Publishers' Weekly*. The outer public, mere buyers of books, are for once taken into confidence upon some very interesting matters concerning both parties. That of Mr. Henry Holt, of the eminent publishing house, has a good deal of useful and amusing information. Here is a bit about novels. There is too much fiction around. "What's a fair allowance of novels for the healthy-minded reader? He ought not to spend all his reading time on novels. Shall we allow him one a month? Perhaps some of you will call that rather short commons. Well, give him one a fortnight. That's twenty-six a year. But there are differences in taste. Well, double the supply to allow for differences in taste, and allow a man in round numbers fifty novels a year, or if you please, allow a big margin to meet all criticisms and objections, and call it a hundred a year. That's two a week—enough in all conscience. Yet in 1896 there were published here about two a day! leaving still a supply of those written in foreign languages which a good many of our people read. Now, we all know that of the two novels a day published in 1896, not one in twenty was good—hardly one in fifty. How are indiscriminating readers going to be guided to the good ones?"

**

The next speaker was Mr. Briggs, manager of a house publishing religious literature. A few of his remarks are highly edifying. He stated that not less than one million dollars have been invested of late in new editions of the Bible and books about the Bible. "There is to-day a greater demand for Bibles than, perhaps, ever before. Until within a comparatively few years nearly all of our best Bibles were imported. During the past few years not less than four new series of Bibles have been issued in this country, and the perfection of machinery has made competition here very sharp—in fact, much sharper than in England. The Bible Society has as a consequence been suffering, and is now taking steps to introduce the latest and most improved machinery for the production of its books."

**

He referred to the gigantic book establishments connected with the various churches. "To the credit of our nation be it said that within our borders are the largest and most progressive denominational publishing houses in the world. Be one's creed what it may, it must be a source of peculiar gratification to all to observe the development of this branch of publication. To-day there is not a safer general credit than that obtaining by these great houses. Not one of us here but would extend to any of them a line of credit limited only by the demand of the purchasing agent."

While the distinctively denominational publishing houses issue the greater number of religious books, these are by no means

exclusively denominational. In order, therefore, not to limit the sales, imprints such as the "Pilgrim Press," the "Westminster Press," etc., have lately been introduced in place of the incorporate names. Truly, the children of this world are not the only ones that are growing wiser in this generation.

The religious publisher with no denominational affiliation, but who seeks for his patronage in all fields, has to be all things to all men."

**

The magazines are being hard pressed by the literary supplements issued by some of the great dailies, of which we need only name the two best, those of the New York *Tribune* and *Times*. A great wave is flooding all the papers with matter, good, bad, and indifferent, about literature, and much which pretends to be but is not. The sign is wholly good, for only by the widest reading of books, and about books and their writers, can there be laid a sound foundation for genuine culture. In one or two of these supplements a tendency to puffery is noticeable. This is a mistake. The idolizing of mediocrities by their associates is beginning to be seen through by the general public. So far from helping them and their books to fame it is a sure way of bringing perhaps unmerited ridicule on them, a mischief as deplorable as indiscriminate praise.

**

The Macmillan Company have purchased from the Cassell Publishing Company, the American rights to Zola's "The Downfall" (*La Debacle*), and will publish a new edition at once.



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